

Spanish Refugee Relief Committee

LIFT THE
EMBARGO
AGAINST SPAIN



A SURVEY OF THE FACTS
A CALL TO ACTION



MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN
COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY
381 Fourth Avenue New York, N. Y.

The most important single issue confronting friends of Spain in the United States today is the revocation of the embargo against the shipment of war materials to the Spanish Government. If the embargo were removed, the people of Spain would be able to buy here the weapons with which to defend themselves against the attacks of the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini coalition. The embargo, instituted in abject compliance with British Tory policy as expressed in the "Non-Intervention" Pact, represents a betrayal of the great traditions of American Democracy which was itself aided by foreign assistance in its 18th Century struggle for liberty. It is a reversal of accepted American foreign policy. It is, in effect, a truckling to the Fascist International and furnishes direct aid to fascism's plan for world domination. The embargo must be lifted!

BACKGROUND OF THE EMBARGO

In order to act effectively against the embargo, it is essential that its background be understood. The events leading up to the imposition of the embargo are set forth briefly below:

1. On January 6, 1937, a hastily prepared resolution calling for an embargo against the shipment of arms to either the Spanish Government or Franco forces was rushed through both Houses of Congress with only one dissenting vote, that of Representative John T. Bernard of Minnesota.

2. The Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937, which superseded the Congressional Resolution, provided that whenever the President found that the shipment of war materials to a foreign country in a state of civil strife appeared likely to endanger the peace of the United States, he was authorized to issue an embargo proclamation. Under the terms of this act, the President, almost immediately issued his proclamation embargoing both sides in the Spanish War. This proclamation is the legal basis for the present embargo.

EFFECT OF THE EMBARGO

That the embargo has failed of its purpose is denied today by no sincere person. Brought into being under the terms of the Neutrality Act, it has been an unneutral measure. By its workings the Spanish Government has been deprived of its legal right to purchase war materials in American markets. Meanwhile the German and Italian Governments, which are

carrying on a de facto war against the Spanish Government, may purchase arms from us without hindrance and are effectively exercising this privilege by purchases of millions of dollars in arms and ammunition since the beginning of the Spanish War.

On a number of occasions within the past year news reports have told of shipments of war materials from the United States aboard German and Italian ships for "unknown" destinations. Significantly, dispatches have come out of Spain telling of the killing and wounding of Loyalist soldiers and civilians by projectiles bearing the trademarks of great American armament firms. On July 26th, 1937, American newspaper correspondents on the Madrid front reported that a German Junkers bomber powered by engines plainly marked to indicate their American origin was shot down behind the Loyalist lines. There are numerous other recorded instances of the same nature.

The embargo is not a peace measure nor a neutrality measure. Its proclamation was welcomed only by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco and their allies throughout the world. The revocation of the embargo could not involve the United States in war. The Spanish Government is able and willing to pay cash for armaments and to ship them on foreign bottoms. The exercise of the legal right to ship arms to Spain has not involved the Republic of Mexico in war. If the fascist coalition has failed to attack the weaker Mexico for its policy of regular relations with Spain, it will not war on the United States. Unless the Government of the United States lifts the embargo on Spain, it will establish the suicidal precedent of penalizing a recognized government attacked both from within and without. The lifting of the embargo will make for peace, both at home and abroad.

LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE EMBARGO

In 1931, during a parallel situation when the Government of Brazil was faced by an insurrection, shipments of arms were authorized by the American Government to the Brazilian Government while the rebels were expressly forbidden such aid by Presidential proclamation. In answering press criticism of this position, the then Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson said:

"It is not a matter of choice on our part but it is a practice of mankind known as international law."

This is a succinct statement of traditional American policy as evidenced time and again during periods of civil strife. In every instance, up to the present, the United States Government has aided the recognized government of a country and denied such aid to the rebellious faction.

The converse of this rule occurred during the War Between the States when the British Government permitted the outfitting of the Confederate States commerce-destroyer Alabama in an English port. Immediately upon the successful termination of the War, the United States demanded and received reparations from Great Britain for the damage caused by the Alabama.

In demanding reparations the United States based its claim upon the recognized doctrine of International Law which prohibits aid to rebellious factions while legalizing all aid to the recognized government.

In 1902, following the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, the United States and Spain entered into a treaty which provided for "full, entire and reciprocal liberty of commerce" between the two nations. This treaty has never been terminated. Nevertheless, in distinct violation of its treaty obligations, the United States has abrogated the right of the Spanish Government to purchase war materials in American markets.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE EMBARGO

Over and above these legal considerations are those of simple humanity. The great cities of Spain have been destroyed by invading forces. Hundreds of thousands of Spaniards have been killed, millions more injured and made homeless while property losses running into the millions of dollars have occurred. A nation which was a great seat of European culture has been laid waste.

It is apparent to every one who has visited Spain that the overwhelming majority of Spaniards support their legally elected and representative government in its fight against fascist invasion. Yet mere man-power is not enough. Weapons must be found with which to repel the reactionary coalition which seeks to fasten upon Spain the bonds of medieval tyranny.

The entire tradition of American Democracy which fought to free itself from a similar bondage and which purchased its freedom at the price of so much blood, is at stake in this struggle. If Spain wins, another battle for freedom will have been won. If the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini coalition wins, the American system is endangered. For ideas today flow naturally over boundaries far apart. Our help to Spain, legalized by international law, is at the same time the best possible guarantee for the continuance of our own democratic rights.

THE EMBARGO SITUATION IN WASHINGTON

The handling of the Sino-Japanese War and the Spanish War by the State Department is a study in contrast. In the Far East, two great nations are conducting a de facto war in a region where substantial interests of the United States are directly involved. The Neutrality Act was specifically formulated to cover such a situation. Nevertheless, the embargo envisaged by the Neutrality Act has not as yet been invoked.

In Spain, the Spanish Government, faced at first by rebellion and later by direct intervention of two great Fascist powers, is prevented by the embargo from purchasing American arms while its assailants face no such prohibition. This contrast in policy cannot be explained. It is merely ignored. *It indicates primarily that the Neutrality Law is what the President wishes to make of it.*

This tragic mistake of New Deal foreign policy can yet be corrected if mass sentiment against the embargo makes itself heard at Washington. The recent Institute of Public Opinion poll, which showed 75 per cent of those of the American people with decided views on the Spanish crisis favored the Loyalist cause, has been disregarded at the nation's capital.

"President Roosevelt, who brought the embargo into being by proclamation, has the legal power to revoke the embargo.

There is ample reason to believe that the President is eager to take this step if he can be assured of sufficient popular support. The most promising move in this direction, according to the syndicated "Washington Merry-Go-Round" published on April 12th under the bylines of Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, was sabotaged by reactionary influence in the State Department. President Roosevelt and the State Department must be convinced that the great majority of Americans favor the lifting of the embargo.

STEPS TOWARD LIFTING THE EMBARGO

The American people must take concerted and effective action to restore to Spain its legal right to buy arms in the American market. At the beginning of the present war the Spanish Republic had \$750,000,000 in gold, the fourth largest gold stock in Europe. Spain has today the cash resources to pay for any essential purchases.

To regain for Spain this right, the following program is set forth:

1. From now on, the emphasis must be placed upon appeals to the President who alone can secure a quick reversal of policy and the end of the embargo. This does not mean that other key figures in Washington should be ignored in this "Lift the Embargo" drive. The officials of importance, so far as this drive is concerned, rank as follows:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Secretary of State Cordell B. Hull

Chairman Sam D. McReynolds of the House Foreign Affairs Committee

Chairman Key Pittman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Other members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees, a list of whose members is appended.

Finally each protester's individual Representative and Senators

2. Delegations should be organized from every section of the United States to make personal calls on the President and other key figures in Washington. Such delegations should be made up of the most prominent individuals possible to enlist. In every instance, to reach the President or members of his secretariat should be the primary objective of a Washington delegation. Failing this, other Government figures should be seen. No delegation should content itself with only one appointment in Washington. There are always other key figures to be seen. If necessary, it is often possible for delegations to split, each group making a different appointment.

In arranging an appointment with the President or other Washington figure, the services of the delegation's local Representative should be enlisted. In the event that the Representative is unsympathetic and refuses to arrange an appointment, the national office of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee will undertake the arrangements.

3. At meetings of sympathetic organizations, resolutions calling for the lifting of the embargo should be brought up for action. Such resolutions, when adopted, should be transmitted to the President, the Secretary of State, the Chairmen of the House Foreign Affairs and the Senate Foreign Relations committees as well as individual Representatives and Senators.

4. Well known persons should be reached and asked to wire or write the President and other key figures for the lifting of the embargo.

5. Finally, the largest number of individuals sympathetic to Spain should be reached and urged to wire or write Washington calling for an end to the embargo. The mass sentiment evoked by this tactic cannot but have its effect upon those in Washington whose attitude is usually summed up in this phrase: "The country is satisfied with the Spanish embargo."

The American people have demonstrated their dissatisfaction time and again. Leading citizens have called in the public press and over the radio for an end to this unneutral measure. Among those who have called for the restoration to Spain of its right of access to American markets are former Secretary of State Stimson, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Bruce Bliven, Mrs. Louis Brandeis, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. John Dewey, Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, former Ambassador William E. Dodd, President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, Helen Keller, President William Allan Nielson of Smith College and Miss Dorothy Thompson.

The country is not satisfied with the embargo on Spain. It is our job to provide the unmistakable evidence.

DO YOUR PART TODAY!

ACT TO LIFT THE EMBARGO!

**CONGRESSMEN ON THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Name	District	City	State	Party
Ed. V. Izac	20	San Diego	California	D
James A. Shanley	3	New Haven	Connecticut	D
Leo A. Allen	13	Galina	Illinois	R
Lewis M. Long	at large	Sandwich	Illinois	D
Finley H. Gray	10	Connersville	Indiana	D
Robert L. Mouton	3	Lafayette	Louisiana	D
Geo. Holden Tinkham	10	Boston	Massachusetts	R
Edith Nourse Rogers	5	Lowell	Massachusetts	R
Joseph W. Martin, Jr.	14	N. Attleboro	Massachusetts	R
George A. Dondero	17	Royal Oak	Michigan	R
Aaron Lane Ford	4	Ackerman	Mississippi	D
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.	12	St. Louis	Missouri	D
Charles A. Eaton	5	Plainfield	New Jersey	R
Sol Bloom	19	New York	New York	D
Hamilton Fish	26	Garrison	New York	R
Joseph L. Pfeifer	3	Brooklyn, N. Y.	New York	D
J. Walter Lambeth	8	Thomasville	North Carolina	D
Lawrence E. Imhoff	18	St. Clairsville	Ohio	D
John McSweeney	at large	Wooster	Ohio	D
Robert G. Allen	28	Greensburg	Pennsylvania	D
Oliver W. Frey	9	Allentown	Pennsylvania	D
James P. Richards	5	Lancaster	South Carolina	D
Sam D. McReynolds	3	Chattanooga	Tennessee	D
Chairman				
Luther S. Johnson	6	Corsicana	Texas	D
John Kee	5	Bluefield	West Virginia	D

**SENATORS ON THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
OF THE SENATE**

Name	City	State	Party
Hiram W. Johnson	San Francisco	California	R
Claude Pepper	Tallahassee	Florida	D
Walter F. George	Vienna	Georgia	D
William E. Borah	Boise	Idaho	R
James P. Pope	Boise	Idaho	R
J. Hamilton Lewis	Chicago	Illinois	D
Frederic Van Nuys	Indianapolis	Indiana	D
Arthur Capper	Topeka	Kansas	R
Wallace H. White, Jr.	Auburn	Maine	R
Arthur H. Vandenberg	Grand Rapids	Michigan	R
Pat Harrison	Gulfport	Mississippi	D
James E. Murray	Butte	Montana	D
Key Pittman, Chairman	Tonopah	Nevada	D
Dennis Chavez	Albuquerque	New Mexico	D
Robert F. Wagner	New York	New York	D
Theodore F. Green	Providence	Rhode Island	D
Tom Connally	Marlin	Texas	D
Elbert D. Thomas	Salt Lake City	Utah	D
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F. Ryan Duffy	Fond Du Lac	Wisconsin	D
Robert F. LaFollette, Jr.	Madison	Wisconsin	Prog.